285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

285 The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long, thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for
[462] keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.

285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the entire animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 784 262 For the clan member his clan totem, his umusiru, is an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion for other reasons. It is taboo to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The umusiru is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict food taboo, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by [783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the umufumu (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of other clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
184 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
515 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128]

Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Piangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

778 The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of
● [784] residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

532 The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
776 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
● 784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (β. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
●784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the
563 main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

769 This explains his invocations, offerings, and libations before the hood-shaped shelter that contains the angered spirit who was pointed out to him.

The Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is bound by the law of taboos
784 (imiziro).

He may not smoke or sit on a chair during a thunderstorm. A woman may not use a billhook to cut grass. She may eat only cow meat. The flesh of certain animals is forbidden, /56/ in some cases to every Munyarwanda, in others to certain clans only. The objects used by a deceased person and the food that was in the hut at the time of his death are taboo. At the end of the mourning period, all these things will be purified with lustral water. The widow herself will have to go through the rites of purification.

Work is forbidden on certain days. The relatives of a deceased person give up all their occupations for four or five days.

Upon the death of the king, all work in the fields is prohibited for three months. In certain parts of Ruanda, one stops work for one day when a child is born, when a hut has burned down, when there has been a hailstorm, even when a dog has died. Some taboos only affect the king.

The burial method peculiar to the Banyarwanda, which
763 incidentally is shared by other African peoples, must now be mentioned. When a sick person is about to die and spreads his arms and legs, his relatives bring his knees up to the chin. His arms are bent at the elbows and his hands are made to cover his face.

764 This crouching position is the absolute rule among pagans. It is not far-fetched to state that this most uncomfortable position, when forced on a dying person, makes breathing very difficult and shortens his last moments.

In the right hand of the deceased, one places the leaves of
[834] plants with magical properties, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, seeds of squash, sorghum, and issogi, and lamb's wool. All these things are symbols explained by the following words pronounced on this occasion, "Return to us as a limb (with the sweetness of a lamb)! Return to us without thorns (like the plants, soft to the touch, that we have given thee), that is to say, without mean intentions."

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads. . . . Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
787 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

Taboos and Portents

784 Taboos (imiziro) and portents, good or bad, are innumerable. We must limit ourselves to a few samples without taking any account whatever of their rational classification, which would be at best a very difficult undertaking.

The appearance of an evil portent or the violation of a taboo make the Banyarwanda liable to misfortunes which vary in magnitude with the seriousness of the infraction, whether or not it was voluntary.

We know that it is not easy to give an exact definition of taboo, for the subject is vast and far reaching.

A taboo does not involve merely the obligatory respect due to traditional customs and practices or the observance of sacred rules, but also a group of prohibitions and interdictions dealing with an object or an animal which may not be touched, which may not be eaten, and which may not be looked at (1).

1. Let us add that in certain cases portents and taboos are identified with each other in the minds of the Blacks, as we have stated above.

What is taboo to one person is not taboo to another.

262 784 As for taboos dealing with animals whose flesh is impure and may not be eaten, the rule is not the same for everyone.

With the single exception of cows, the flesh of all animals is forbidden to women.

Mutton is taboo to certain clans, while goat meat is forbidden to others.

Fish and wild boars are forbidden to the Banyarwanda with the exception of riverain people and hunters. Hares, partridges, ducks, and guinea fowl are included among the impure animals (2) /410/

2. Children sometimes eat them in secret.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[841] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

[825 777] It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

●784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who [484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

[843] A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper, or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[751]

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see

[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

784 A crowned crane that perches at the top of a hut, or a dog, goat, or sheep that manages to climb upon it, are sure signs of approaching misfortunes.

It is rigorously forbidden to kill a crowned crane, crow, wagtail, lizard, frog, or toad.

The parents of a newly married man may not partake of his meals unless they first cook a bunch of bananas in his house. Scurvy is the punishment for this transgression.

[844] A woman who has just given birth to a child must see to it that the umbilical cord of the newborn is not lost. If there is food in the hut at the moment of childbirth, the mother may not touch it. If she broke this taboo she would contract a disease (guhumana).

The father of a baby whose teeth have not yet come out may not take a new wife without exposing the child to the danger of contracting the acute scurfy disease (amahumane).

[593] If a child wishes to sit in a chair just vacated by his father, he must first place there a little straw. If he were to act otherwise, he would risk his father's curse.

Children are not permitted to lean against the post which is reserved for the family head. This, too, is done for reasons of propriety.

The owner of a calf whose hooves have only one toe as the result of a congenital deformity may not butcher it except at his own home. The meat of the animal may not be eaten elsewhere. It must be eaten on the spot with the sorghum bread brought by each guest. At the end of the meal, the guests wash their hands in the courtyard and not outside of it.

A goat that sits...on its behind must be butchered /414/ or sold immediately, so that evil will not befall the occupants of the hut.

A hunter of "feli-cervaline /?/" (tiger cats) must be careful careful not to make too many victims among those carnivores so as not to risk unfortunate consequences. A peasant threshing beans in the pod must see to it that no one steps on the threshing floor while he is working.

He would experience the surprise of seeing his provision of beans diminish if a passer-by were to stop suddenly before him.

7784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
[842] her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband.

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

7787 If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest, it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

7789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
691 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

[273] The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

7784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
824 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

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Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

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[240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

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Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

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The food taboos which play such an important role in the life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos, abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

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The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

614 784 Nevertheless, the individual's freedom of action with regard to his umuziru is limited. For this reason one is closer to the actual meaning of the word when one translates it as "prohibition."

I was told that the following were abaziru: mammals, the various parts of their bodies, birds, fish, grasshoppers, the milk of particular cows, and inanimate objects, such as an empty basket, for example, but not plants, with the exception of a blade of straw.

784 715 614 [241] The meaning of abaziru involves the vague idea that after death everyone takes the form of an umuziru. For example, they believe that the clansmen of the ruler of Kiziba turn into snakes, the family of the kings of Ruanda into leopards, and various Azande clans into all kinds of animals.

I had no opportunity to find out the derivation of abaziru, not even in cases where the transformation into animals after death was positively maintained. Thus, we can hardly link the various prohibitions with remnants of these ideas.

784 614 On the other hand, I learned about traditions which make it seem likely that the prohibitions arose from experiences of clan members or their protoplasts. Thus, in Kifumbiro I was told that one of the clans there (the Abazirambogo) does not eat buffalo meat because one of its ancestors was killed on a buffalo hunt many, many years ago.

The prohibition on wearing the skin of the inganda, antelope, shows how the taboos of a single clan spread to larger groups, even to a whole country. Inganda is an umuziru of the Basindi clan. Its members were not permitted to hunt the animal, eat its meat, or use its skin for clothing. Two wives of a king of Ruanda once quarreled over this beautiful skin, and one stabbed the other with a knife. Thereupon the wise king, in order to eliminate discord from the world once and for all, declared the animal to be an umuziru for the entire country. This has also been the case with dogs, monkeys, and birds.

The Banyaruanda, who generally like to dismiss a questioner with the phrase, "our fathers did it this way," cite traditions about the origin of their taboos, and this we can regard as an argument in favor of the view that the taboos developed along with clan organization.

It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

[242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

AGRICULTURE

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[8]

In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[8] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[18] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

593 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong
784 enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a
582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to
[357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are
[565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter.
[564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the ap-
[591] proach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will
342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.)
591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home
[184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-